601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ṭa'aṭi (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni''udi (another) was added; thus, ni''udi komo'dːs (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a'hːt (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no'ōi (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta'naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tamːk were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with 431 them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[505] Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not
586 essential at marriage, constancy was expected
837 from a wife. The husband was entirely within his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse
[57A] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her
[181] husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

587 The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 The berdache had a special place in Yokuts
[767] society as a handler and burier of the dead and singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winetum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

765 set the date for it. This reciprocal group was called gu'ui just as is the reciprocal tribe in the public Annual Mourning Ceremony.

On the day set the relatives-in-law, headed by one of their group, brought meat and clothing. With them came two or three singers (ahe'nːč). The singers performed morning and evening, and the chief mourner, his relatives, and any others of his tribe who wished all wept [152] in accompaniment. This performance was called paho'tːt and continued all night. Sometime during the night money was collected from the mourners by a winatum and the next day was taken to the reciprocants.

The next morning the washers' winatum got large baskets of water, and the visitors washed the faces of the chief mourners, combed their hair, and dressed them in new clothes. These chief mourners would be the immediately bereaved and close relatives, e.g., a man and his children mourning a dead wife, or parents and siblings mourning a dead child, etc. Thereafter the faces of less closely related mourners -- cousins, aunts, grandparents, etc. -- were washed.

Then a general feast was held, games were played, and one or two shamans might dance during the evening. The shamans were given money frequently in order to keep them dancing. Sometimes a woman or two would dance with them.

Thereafter the initial phase of mourning was over. A widower was free to remarry, [587] though many men did not do so at once. A widow was expected to remain single for at least a year. Any deeply bereaved person continued to maintain a depressed demeanor and refrained from meat until the annual mourning celebration was held. During the mourning period a woman busied herself making baskets which she gave to the relatives-in-law who washed her. She continued this industry in preparation for the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

Age Categories

561 From M.L.. Her distinctions are not very satisfactory from the point of view of European culture. My impression is that for Yokuts the span of life is, roughly, in four parts: birth to adolescence, adolescence to mature manhood (say 20 years), manhood, and old age.

wi'tep, wi'tipːč: baby, baby boy; any child under 3 years; literally, little one
gu'tum witep: baby boy
mo'kːs witep: baby girl
hi'am paha'ta witep gutum: now little male, i.e., boy [here referred specifically to Mason Garcia, aged 5]
witep mu'kːs: little female, i.e., girl
hiam pahata gutum: now male; i.e., man [here referred specifically to Felix Garcia, aged 10]

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 582 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 [616] [587] Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 Parent-in-law tabu.---A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 Many people feared to approach a graveyard,
753 especially at night, for they said they could
775 see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said
302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

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[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

Marriage

With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

At Tušao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. Thev presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

When all was settled, the makši exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[373]

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[373] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

Y W 601 [P. 235b] Western Mono NS25

The husband was termed loto´pnam (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wan. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'akšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

W Y [186]

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

● Y W ● [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim,* the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY

YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

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When I was about ten years old my mother married again. Her husband had relatives at *Waiu,* the village where Santa Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

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This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

[578]

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

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We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees,* myself, my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

[103]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

764 484

one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

764 [766] 587 765 [177]

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civilization", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

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As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aboriginal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

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Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hĭ'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,